

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 STATE 009185
ORIGIN EUR-03

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ONY-00 /004 R

DRAFTED BY EUR/EE:JMSEYMOUR,JR:LG
APPROVED BY EUR/EE:NGANDREWS
EUR/SOV:MLEVITSKY (SUBSTANCE)
DESIRED DISTRIBUTION
EUR/EE: EUR/SOV ONLY, 3 COPIES EACH
-----001649 122346Z /64
O 122307Z JAN 78
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 009185

FOR LUERS FROM ANDREWS--REPLY FOR EUR/EE, EUR/SOV ONLY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OGEN

SUBJECT: MESSAGE FOR DAS LUERS

1. THIS TELEGRAM SENDS THE TEXT OF A CABLE DRAFTED BY BIB (WALTER ROBERTS), SUBJECT: "RIGHT OF REPLY TO RFE/RL BROADCASTS." IT WOULD GO TO MOSCOW, EE POSTS, BONN, MUNICH, LISBON, MADRID, NATO POLADS, AND BELGRADE FOR CSCE DELEGATION. WE HAVE CLEARANCES FROM THE WE DESKS AND RPM (WITH RELUCTANCE). BOTH EE AND SOV, HOWEVER, HAVE QUESTIONS ABOUT MODALITIES WHICH WE WILL DISCUSS IN A SEPARATE TELEGRAM. WE WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR COMMENTS/ CLEARANCE ASAP.

2. BEGIN TEXT: REF: SOFIA 2556

1. BOARD FOR INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTING, WHICH IS CHARGED
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 009185

BY P.L. 93-129 WITH STATUTORY OVERSIGHT OVER RADIO FREE EUROPE/ RADIO LIBERTY BROADCASTS, IN ITS 1977 ANNUAL REPORT TO THE PRESIDENT, FORMALLY URGED MAJOR DIPLOMATIC EFFORT TO SECURE AN END TO JAMMING OF INTERNATIONAL RADIO BROADCASTS AMONG STATES SIGNATORY TO CSCE FINAL ACT. BIB CITED LANGUAGE OF HELSINKI FINAL ACT IN WHICH "THE PARTICIPATING STATES NOTE THE EXPANSION IN THE DISSEMINATION OF INFORMA-

TION BROADCAST BY RADIO, AND EXPRESS THE HOPE FOR THE

CONTINUATION OF THIS PROCESS, SO AS TO MEET THE INTEREST OF MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AMONG PEOPLES AND THE AIMS SET FORTH BY THIS CONFERENCE." AT MOMENT, JAMMING OF RFE/RL BROADCASTS CONTINUES IN SOVIET UNION, BULGARIA, CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND, TO LESSER EXTENT IN POLAND, DESPITE U.S. EFFORTS, SUPPORTED BY WESTERN ALLIES, TO SECURE AT BELGRADE REVIEW CONFERENCE AND ELSEWHERE, REMOVAL OF ARTIFICIAL OBSTACLES TO RECEPTION OF RADIO BROADCASTS. IN ADDITION, JAMMING OF VOA IN BULGARIA HAS APPARENTLY BEEN RESUMED (REFTEL). (NOTE: JAMMING HAS NOW CEASED.)

2. IN ITS 1978 ANNUAL REPORT, TO BE SUBMITTED TO THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS ON JANUARY 31, BIB IS MAKING OFFER TO SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS TO GIVE THEM, UNDER AGREED CONDITIONS, BROADCAST TIME FOR RIGHT OF REPLY TO SPECIFIC RFE/RL PROGRAMS. THIS OFFER, WHICH IS MADE ON PERSONAL INITIATIVE OF FORMER AMBASSADOR TO POLAND JOHN A. GRONOUSKI, WHO ASSUMED BIB CHAIRMANSHIP LAST SUMMER, HAS FIRM SUPPORT OF DEPARTMENT. BECAUSE IT REPRESENTS A DEPARTURE FROM PAST PRACTICE AND AS SUCH MAY RECEIVE CONSIDERABLE PUBLICITY, RELEVANT TEXT IS TRANSMITTED HERewith SO THAT POSTS MAY DISCUSS IT, AS DEEMED ADVISABLE, WITH APPROPRIATE HOST GOVERNMENTS' OFFICIALS.
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 009185

3. BIB 1978 ANNUAL REPORT QUOTES PRESIDENT CARTER'S REPORT ON INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTING OF MARCH 22, 1977, WHICH NOTED THAT SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN AUTHORITIES HAVE QUOTE FAILED TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE MANIFEST CHANGES IN RFE/RL FUNDING, OVERSIGHT AND PROGRAMS SINCE 1971 UNQUOTE AND IN PARTICULAR THE POLICY DOCUMENTS PROMULGATED BY THE BOARD (AND CLEARED BY THE DEPARTMENT) WHICH DEFINE RFE/RL AS INFORMATIONAL AND RESPONSIBLY INDEPENDENT MEDIA OF NEWS AND NEWS ANALYSIS, DEDICATED TO PRINCIPLES ENSHRINED IN THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER AND THE FINAL ACT. (THESE DOCUMENTS ARE INCLUDED AS APPENDICES IN THE BIB 1977 ANNUAL REPORT, WHICH WAS SENT TO POSTS, AND ARE REPRINTED ONCE MORE IN 1978 REPORT.) NEW BIB REPORT STATES:

BEGIN TEXT: WITH NO REFERENCE TO THE ACTUAL CONTENT OF RFE/RL PROGRAMS, THE SOVIET AUTHORITIES, AT BELGRADE AND ELSEWHERE, CONTINUE TO CHARGE THAT SUCH PROGRAMS CONSTITUTE QUOTE DEFAMATORY PROPAGANDA UNQUOTE. THE BOARD FIRMLY REJECTS THIS CHARGE. OVER THE PAST TWO YEARS, IT HAS BEEN SUGGESTED TO SEVERAL OF THE EAST

EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS THAT THEY CALL TO THE BOARD'S
ATTENTION SPECIFIC BROADCASTS WHICH IN THEIR VIEW WERE

INACCURATE OR OVERSTEPPED GENERALLY ACCEPTED STANDARDS
OF FAIR COMMENT. THE BOARD REMAINS PLEDGED TO RECEIVE
AND INVESTIGATE ANY SUCH COMPLAINTS IN THE FUTURE, AS
IT HAS IN THE PAST.

HOWEVER, VERY FEW SPECIFIC COMPLAINTS HAVE BEEN BROUGHT
TO THE ATTENTION OF THE BOARD BY OFFICIALS OF THE COUNTRIES
TO WHICH RFE/RL BROADCASTS. WE RESTATE OUR WILLINGNESS
TO INVESTIGATE THEIR COMPLAINTS WHENEVER THEY BELIEVE A
PROGRAM HAS VIOLATED OUR STATEMENT OF MISSION, THE PROGRAM
POLICY GUIDELINES OF RFE/RL OR THE FINAL ACT. MOREOVER,
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 009185

THE BOARD IS PREPARED SERIOUSLY TO CONSIDER, IN CONCERT
WITH THE RADIOS, THE DEVELOPMENT OF PROCEDURES FOR MAKING
RFE/RL AIRTIME AVAILABLE TO OFFICIALS OF THE SOVIET UNION
AND EASTERN EUROPE FOR RESPONSES TO THOSE SPECIFIC COM-
PLAINTS WHICH HAVE MERIT. NO RADIO ENTERPRISE BROAD-
CASTING 980 HOURS A WEEK CAN AVOID COMMITTING AN OCCASIONAL
INACCURACY. IT WOULD BE EMINENTLY MORE SENSIBLE FOR THE
GOVERNMENTS INVOLVED TO DEVELOP, IN COOPERATION WITH THE
BOARD, AN ORDERLY WAY TO CORRECT SUCH LAPSES WHEN THEY
OCCUR, RATHER THAN TO ENGAGE INDISCRIMINATELY IN A COSTLY
JAMMING EXERCISE WHICH VIOLATES THE VERY ESSENCE OF THE
HELSINKI COMMITMENT TO THE FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION. END
TEXT.

4. NEITHER DEPARTMENT NOR BIB HAS ANY ILLUSIONS ABOUT
POSSIBILITY OF EARLY ACCEPTANCE OF THIS OFFER, WHICH
IS MADE IN ORDER TO BRING HOME TO SOVIETS, AND ESPECIALLY
EASTERN EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS, FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE IN
RECENT YEARS IN PURPOSE, DIRECTION AND SPONSORSHIP OF
RFE/RL.

5. THE BOARD AND DEPARTMENT WISH TO STRESS THAT THIS
OFFER IS BEING MADE WITH THE UTMOST SERIOUSNESS, AND
FULL REALIZATION OF ITS POSSIBLE CONSEQUENCES, INCLUDING
THE POSSIBLE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF MECHANISMS FOR
ASSURING THE RIGHT OF REPLY BY HOST GOVERNMENTS. HOWEVER,
IT SHOULD BE CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD BY ALL CONCERNED THAT
SUCH A RIGHT OF REPLY IS CONDITIONAL ON A DE FACTO
CESSATION OF JAMMING, TO WHICH THIS OFFER PRESENTS
A CIVILIZED ALTERNATIVE MORE IN LINE, IN OUR VIEW, WITH
THE LETTER AND SPIRIT OF THE FINAL ACT.

6. PENDING PRELIMINARY REACTIONS FROM SOVIET AND THREE
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 009185

EAST EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS STILL ENGAGED IN JAMMING, NEITHER BIB NOR DEPARTMENT WISH TO SPECIFY PRECISE MECHANISMS BY WHICH RIGHT OF REPLY WOULD BE IMPLEMENTED. POSTS MAY WISH TO SOLICIT PRELIMINARY REACTIONS FORMALLY

AS WELL AS INFORMALLY. IF QUESTIONED IN DETAIL, REPLY MAY BE MADE THAT UNDERLYING THINKING EMBRACES FOLLOWING PRINCIPLES:

A. CHAIRMAN GRONOUSKI AND BOARD STAFF IN WASHINGTON ARE AVAILABLE TO EXPLORE MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE PROCEDURES;

B. SPECIFIC COMPLAINTS AND REPLY STATEMENTS COULD BE ROUTED EITHER THROUGH SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN EMBASSIES IN WASHINGTON TO BIB, OR BY HOST GOVERNMENTS THROUGH AMERICAN EMBASSIES;

C. BIB, WHOSE MEMBERS HAVE BEEN APPOINTED BY THE PRESIDENT WITH ADVICE AND CONSENT OF SENATE, WOULD HAVE PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY IN CONCERT WITH THE RADIOS FOR DETERMINING WHETHER COMPLAINTS WARRANTED GRANTING RFE/RL AIRTIME TO FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS CONCERNED;

D. REPLY TIME WOULD BE OF APPROXIMATELY EQUAL DURATION TO OFFENDING ITEM, AND BROADCAST AT COMPARABLE HOUR. RFE/RL WOULD RESERVE RIGHT TO COMMENT SUBSEQUENTLY IN RESPONSIBLE MANNER ON TEXT PROVIDED BY HOST AUTHORITIES BUT WOULD NOT EDIT, ALTER OR CURTAIL IT IN ANY WAY.

7. IT MAY BE POINTED OUT TO HOST GOVERNMENTS STILL ENGAGED IN JAMMING THAT PRESIDENT'S BUDGET REQUEST FOR FISCAL YEAR 1979 CONTAINS TEN-MILLION DOLLAR REQUEST FOR EIGHT ADDITIONAL 250 KILOWATT (RFE/RL) TRANSMITTERS, REQUIRED TO IMPROVE PENETRATION OF JAMMING. THIS REQUEST FOR FISCAL YEAR 1979 IS IN ADDITION TO THE FOUR NEW 250-KILOWATT TRANSMITTERS FOR RFE/RL ALREADY FUNDED IN
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 06 STATE 009185

FISCAL YEAR 1978 AND THE TWELVE NEW 100-KILOWATT TRANSMITTERS INSTALLED IN 1976 AND 1977. NEW REQUEST WILL DOUBTLESS RECEIVE EQUALLY FIRM BIPARTISAN SUPPORT IN CONGRESS. GOVERNMENTS NOW COMMITTED TO PERSISTING IN JAMMING WILL THEREFORE HAVE TO CONSIDER ADDITIONAL COSTLY COUNTER-MEASURES IF THEIR INTERFERENCE IS TO RETAIN CURRENT LEVELS OF EFFECTIVENESS.

8. EMBASSY MOSCOW AND CSCE DELEGATION: SOVIET ATTACKS ON RFE/RL, INCLUDING BREZHNEV'S STATEMENT AT 1976 ECPC IN EAST BERLIN HAVE BEEN SCATTERSHOT AND VAGUE. BOTH DEPARTMENT AND BIB WOULD WELCOME GREATER INSIGHT INTO SPECIFIC SOVIET THINKING AT HIGHER LEVELS -- IN PARTICULAR, TO WHAT EXTENT THEY ARE BOTHERED BY THE NAME OF RADIO LIBERTY, BY BROADCASTS TO NON-RUSSIAN NATIONALITIES, BY READINGS FROM SAMIZDAT AND TAMIZDAT AUTHORS SUCH AS SOLZHENITSYN, BY EMPLOYMENT OF HANDFUL

OF AGING WORLD WAR II VLASSOVITES, ETC. WE WOULD ENCOURAGE SOVIETS TO ADDRESS ACTUAL PROGRAMS IN 1978, RATHER THAN REPEATING OUTWORN BOILERPLATE, SINCE VERY CONSIDERABLE CHANGES HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN RL PROGRAMS AND BIB AND RFE/RL ARE COMMITTED TO FURTHER IMPROVEMENTS IN CONTENT, STYLE AND TONE. IN EVENT SOVIET AUTHORITIES SHOW ANY INTEREST IN EXPLORATORY INFORMAL DIALOGUE DEALING WITH SPECIFICS, DR. GRONOUSKI IS PREPARED TO COME TO MOSCOW IF NECESSARY. END TEXT. CHRISTOPHER

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 12 jan 1978
Decaption Date: 20 Mar 2014
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978STATE009185
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: JMSEYMOUR,JR:LG
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780019-0321
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780170/aaaachji.tel
Line Count: 244
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: e22a8be4-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: ONLY
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: ONLY
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 03 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3785902
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MESSAGE FOR DAS LUERS
TAGS: OGEN
To: MOSCOW
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/e22a8be4-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014